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SOME OLD UNPUBLISHED LETTERS

EDITED BY PRESERVED SMITH

CAMBRIDGE

Perhaps the most remarkable collection of autograph letters in the world is that made by the late Frederic A. Dreer and now housed in the Pennsylvania Historical Society at 1300 Locust Street, Philadelphia. Among the several thousand letters, there are specimens of the writing of most of the famous people who have lived during the last four centuries. During various short visits at Philadelphia I have run through the whole collection and have copied fifty of the most important epistles written during the period before 1650. For, to my great surprise, a number of the most valuable have lain for all these centuries unknown. Doubtless the fact that the collection is seldom seen by scholars combines with the difficulty of the paleography to lock up many a historical secret well worth the publishing.

For the present article I have selected a few letters bearing on Church history. Five of the most important I shall publish here. A few others, previously published, I have registered and collated, if their value seemed to justify it. The thread of continuity uniting the whole series is found in their religious interest. Doubtless the most valuable of the lot here published is that of Farel to Calvin, speaking, as it does, of Bucer's death, of the famous Bolsec affair, of the poets of the circle of Margaret of Navarre, and of the hitherto imperfectly known difficulties of Calvin with James Bernard. Of like importance is the communication of Hedio on Luther's death,

the Council of Trent and other matters. Of less value are the others, but I trust none here printed is too trivial to be worth the trouble of reading.

Before starting on the pleasant labor of transcription I must thank several of my friends for kind assistance. Professor Charles M. Jacobs has gone over most of the Farel letter. Professor George T. Northup and Professor Marinoni have kindly assisted me in editing the Italian letter. As they have not seen the original I desire to state that they are not responsible for the readings. My father has looked up a few points in books not accessible to me. I now proceed to present the letters in chronological order.

1. JOHN DE' MEDICI TO PETER DE' MEDICI

SAN MINIATO, February 26, 1493

John Cardinal de' Medici, afterwards Pope Leo X, writes to his brother Peter begging him to elevate a certain Bartholomew del Maestro to the college of Signori, because, he says, the man has always been favorable to them and had even treated him, the evening before, on his passage through Signa, to lampreys. Is not the whole spirit of the Renaissance papacy perceptible in this missive? Private favors, even of the most trivial sort, were rewarded with public office. Government was purely personal.

[Address] Magnifico Fratri hon. Petro de' Medicis, Florentia.

Magnifico Fr hon. Io ti dissi alli giorni passati come desideramo che Bartholomeo del Maestro¹ de tui fussi de signori, et tu me ne rispondesti quasi affirmative de farlo. Hora essendo venuto il tempo di crearli te lo mando & cosi come io li² ho data intentione che havera questa dignita & honore alpunkte sotto la promessa mi facesti ti priegho ex animo lo vogli mettere in acto, che per una gratia non potrei per hora aspectare la maggiore; & l' opera sara bene collocata in persona benivola & benemerita di casa nostra, & io sono obligato ad pure farli ogni favore per lo honore smisurato & careccie fadomi piu volte nel transito per Signa.³ A uno papa non si sian

¹ I can find nothing on him in Pastor, or Creighton, or Roscoe's Leo X, 1876. The words "de tui" indicate that he was a partisan of Peter.

² I.e., "gli."

³ A small town on the Arno between Florence and San Miniato.

potuto fare piu; hiersera ci dette insino al lamprede. Pensa se siamo obligato a farli favore. Benevale. Ex Sancto Miniato die xxvi Februarij 1492.⁴

FR. JO. CARDINALIS ⁵ DE MEDICIS.

Translation

Magnificent, honorable Brother: I told you some days ago how we wished that Bartholomeo del Maestro, your man, should belong to the Signori, and you replied as if consenting to bring it about. Now that the time for electing them has come, I inform you of it, and also how I have given him to understand that he will gain this dignity and honor immediately. In view of the promise you made me, I beg you from the bottom of my heart to be pleased to fulfil it, for in the way of a favor I could not now expect a greater. And the trouble will be well spent upon a person kindly and well deserving of our house; and I am also obliged to do him every favor in return for the excessive honor and acts of kindness shown me several times as I passed through Signa. Greater could not have been done to a pope. Last evening he even gave me lampreys. Consider whether we are compelled to show him favor. Farewell. San Miniato, February 26, 1492-3.

Your brother, JOHN CARDINAL DE' MEDICI.

2. LUTHER TO SPALATIN, 1524

This letter is published in Enders: *Luther's Briefwechsel*, iv, 267, with the wrong date, 1523. For collation with the original, see *Luther's Correspondence and other contemporary Letters*, vol. ii, translated and edited by Preserved Smith and C. M. Jacobs, 1918, p. 557.

3. ERASMUS TO LEWIS BER, JANUARY 26, 1527

This witty and historical letter has just been published in *Luther's Correspondence*, vol. ii, the original on pp. 532 f., and a translation and notes, pp. 393 ff.

⁴ According to the Roman and Florentine method of beginning the year on Lady Day, this would mean 1493. See A. Giry: *Manuel de diplomatie*, 1894, p. 127. According to Roscoe (Leo X, 1876, i. 25), John de' Medici had removed to Rome on March 12, 1492. Either he had just returned for a visit or Roscoe mistakes the date 1492 for 1493.

⁵ John de' Medici, born 1475, was made a priest at the age of 7 and given the red hat at 13. When he wrote this letter he was only 17.

4. CASPAR HEDIO TO COUNT PHILIP OF HANAU

STRASSBURG, March 16 and 19, 1546

Hedio (1494–1552) was, after his advent to Strassburg in 1523, one of the leading reformers there until his death.

Philip IV, Count of Hanau-Lichtenberg (†1590), took part in the Religious Peace of 1555.

[Address] Dem Wolgebornen Hern Hern Philippen Grauen zu Hanau und Hern zu Liechtenberg, meinem gnedigen Hern. Zur ei[gnen] Handen.

Hochgeborner, Gnediger Her. E[ure] g[nade] seyen meine unterthenige dienst Zubevor. Gnediger Her. Auf dem xviii tag february ist doctor Martinus Lutherus got ergeben zu Eysleben,⁶ da er die grauen von Mansfeld einer grossen uneynikeit halb miteinander vertragen hat. Sint beisamen auch graf Albrecht und sein gemahl samt vilen predigern. Und ist dass sein letstes gepet gewesen:

Almechtiger got und vatter meines lieben hern Jesu Christi denn ich gelert und bekannt, den der Bapst und die welt lestert und schendet, erbarm dich mein und nimm mein seel in deine hand. Und als er etliche ort auss der schrift, die ganz trostlich sint, gesprochen, als namlich Joh. am 3 cap., Als hat Got die welt lieb gehapt, das er sein sonn gab auf das der an ym glaucht hatt das ewig leben &c, ist er verschyden. Das habe E.g. ich undertheniger meinung nit wöllen verhalten.

Darauf aber Culmannus⁷ E.g. zum Superattendentem nit werden mag, habe ich sust nachfragen ob got der her einen andern wolte anzeigen damit die selbige Kirchen wol versehen. Der almechtige erhalt E.g. zu seinem preiss und der Unterthenigen Wolfahrt. Amen in eil. Strassburg den 16 martij 1546.

E.g. Underth.

C. HEDIO, D.

⁶ Though this letter has no independent value as a source for Luther's last hours, it is interesting as one of the first accounts known to us. Eight letters on the same subject have been published by G. Kawerau in *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1881, 1907, and 1913. On the literature of the subject see my *Life of Luther*, p. 470. Since that was written a good deal has come out. The most important texts have been published by J. Strieder: *Authentische Berichte über Luthers letzte Lebensstunden*, 1912. Two accounts of the death have recently been discovered in America, one published by Spaeth in *Lutheran Church Review*, April, 1910, believed by him to be by John Albrecht. The value of the document is denied by Strieder in *Historische Vierteljahrschrift*, xv, 1912, 379 ff. G. L. Burr published another account, found written in a Bible published 1546, and printed it in the *American Historical Review*, July, 1911. The author is unknown and the account worthless. See also J. Herderschee: "Luther's Laatste Levensdagen," *Theologis. Tijdschrift*, 51, 5 (1917).

⁷ Leonard Culmann (1497 or 1498–1562), a preacher at Nuremberg, where he defended the Osiandrian doctrines. *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*.

Her Martin Bucer hat woll ein meinung gehapt E.G. anzuzeigen einen gnant Antonius Schorus ⁸ von Louvain, der fein und gelert, aber der sprach halben zu sorge onverstandig. Zu dem ist er schon gen Heidelberg ein pedagogium dasselbst zu halten.

Auss Regensburg sint brief kumen des dato 12 martij. Und ist das Colloquium ⁹ in eines aufzug des wegen k.Mt.¹⁰ mandat der ein form prescribit die dan unsern beschwerlich ist, darauf sie gegenbericht geben haben. Auch hat K.Mt. zu den vorige ij praesidenten den 3 geordnet, hern Julium Pflug.¹¹

Zu Trient ist der hochste handel in der disputation ob der Bapst uber dag Concilium oder das Concilium uber ym. Und achtet man Bepstliche h[eiligkeit] werde unterstann das Concilium zu Rhom, Bononij oder Mantua zulest.¹²

Es gibt noch sprache das K.Mt. woll in Hispania und fur Algeria.

E.g. habe ich dass zurvorige verzeichnet ganz Undertheniger meinung zu gefallen.

In eyl fritag das xix Martij.

CASPAR HEDIO.

Translation

Highborn, Gracious Lord, my humble service to your Grace.

Gracious Lord, on the 18th day of February Dr. Martin Luther was given to God at Eisleben, after he had reconciled the Counts of Mansfeld who had been at odds. With him were Count Albert and his wife together with many preachers. And this was his last prayer:

Almighty God and Father of my dear Lord Jesus Christ, whom I have taught and confessed, and whom the pope and the world blasphemes and reviles, pity me and take my soul in thy hand. And after he had repeated some very comfortable texts from Scripture

⁸ Antony van Schore, or Schorus (1525-52), after studying at Strassburg matriculated at Heidelberg October 16, 1546, where, as this letter informs us, he began tutoring other youths. He published works on philosophy. *Allge. Deu. Biog.* Evidently at this time he did not speak High German, but only Dutch.

⁹ On this conference at Ratisbon, opened January 27, see Pastor: *History of the Popes*, English, xii, 278 ff.

¹⁰ "Kaiserliche Majestät," i.e., Charles V.

¹¹ Julius von Pflug (1499-1564), a moderate Catholic, elected Bishop of Naumburg 1541, but not installed until 1547. He declined the presidency of the conference, offered him by Charles.

¹² The Council of Trent opened with a passionate dispute between the pope and the delegates. See Pastor: *History of the Popes*, English translation, xii, 1914, chap. 6. This led to the expectation that the pope would transfer the council to Rome, Bologna, or Mantua.

(as, for example, John 3 16, "God so loved the world that he gave his son, so that whosoever believeth on him hath eternal life," &c.) he passed away. It was my humble wish not to keep your Grace in ignorance of this.

As Culmann cannot be your Grace's Superintendent,¹³ I have looked elsewhere to see if God the Lord would point out any one else to provide your church with. The Almighty keep your Grace to his glory and your subjects welfare. Amen. In haste. Strassburg, March 16, 1546.

Your Grace's humble,

Dr. C. HEDIO.

P.S. Martin Bucer thought of recommending to your Grace one called Anthony Schorus of Louvain who is fine and learned, but, alas, doesn't know the language. Moreover he has just gone to Heidelberg to tutor boys there.

Letters dated March 12 have come from Ratisbon. The Conference there is in turmoil because his Majesty's decree prescribes a form which is injurious to our people, wherefore they have made a counter-report against it. Also his Majesty, in addition to the two first presidents, has named a third, Julius Pflug.

The principal business at Trent is the dispute whether the pope is superior to the council or the council superior to him. It is thought his Holiness will find some way to translate the council to Rome, Bologna, or Mantua.

There is a rumor that his Imperial Majesty will go to Spain and against Algiers.

I have humbly noted all this for your Grace's pleasure.

In haste, Friday, March 19.

CASPAR HEDIO.

5. WILLIAM FAREL TO JOHN CALVIN AT GENEVA

NEUCHÂTEL, May 25, 1551

Farel (1489-1565), the well known reformer and precursor of Calvin. The most recent lives of him by W. Bevan, 1893, by J. J. Herzog in the *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, and by Mulot in *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1908, pp. 362-84, 513-42. Readers of his letters are aware of the obscurity of his style. Many of his epistles to Calvin, printed in the *Corpus Reformatorum*, are headed by the editor with some such comment as "more suo de multis et variis satis obscure." (*Calvini opera*, xvii, ep. 2797.) He wrote a tiny and difficult hand. Never-

¹³ An ecclesiastical officer often called the Lutheran equivalent of the bishop.

theless I have deciphered it and have succeeded in explaining the sense of the epistle, which throws light on some letters of Calvin, and on important events.

S. Christophorus¹⁴ vulnus quod accepimus per suam absentiam quod non facile curabitur, intempestiva enim facit abitio et longior mora quam negotia omnia ferent, vulnus inquam illud lenivit ut pene non angor, quamvis grave, ob proximi recordationem, ut merito gratias agam D[eo] & gratulor non modo tibi potiss[imum] & ecclesiae ob fructum quem spero, vero etiam Christophoro, qui huius a me admonitus, fidam narravit operam, sumpta evectione ex colloquio quem habueramus in sexione.¹⁵

Jacobus Bernardus¹⁶ ne eum fraudem eius operae qua D[eus] voluit per eum uti, prout non detrectavit olim pro instauranda ecclesia ista, quam D[eus] dederat impendere; & ut sciat me horum non immemorem nec ingratum, ut nosti me solitum referre officia istius, hoc addes ut meo nomine ei agas gratias, & observet ut pergat semper talibus vere christianis officiis, eum sibi magis et magis demonstrare, quod spero facturum, suo ipsius et ecclesiae commodo & fructu non vulgari, meo vero quam ingenti gaudio, quo triumpho dum video eum nobis salvum superesse, dum alios defleo, non modo salvum sed item ecclesiae Christi utilem. Quod ad primum attinet, cuius initia & progressus, quamvis quisquiliae multae fuerunt admixtae grano, tamen quia D[ei] fuerunt, quae bona fuerunt, & non parum ecclesiae contulerunt, Deo operante in creatura sua, fieri non potest. Quae creatura Dei, quia a Deo prodijt, mihi chara ob dona quae ferverunt, mihi multo chariorem sat efficiat Christus expurgans omnia et perfecta dans ut evangelio serviens pergendo et perseverando in finem usque, sit quam chariss[ima]. Tu qui pater es fuisti et eris, quid potes aliud quam haberi quam chariss[imus]

¹⁴ Christopher Fabri or Libertetus, often spoken of as Farel's colleague at Neuchâtel. He succeeded Farel after his death. See *La France Protestante*. He had gone to Geneva; see Calvin's answer, June 15, *Calvini Opera*, xiv, 133. On April 27, Farel speaks of a "colleague" suddenly leaving; *ibid.* xiv, 112.

¹⁵ Sic for "sessione," referring to the session of the Synod of Neuchâtel held in March, on which cf. letters of that date.

¹⁶ James Bernard, formerly guardian of the Franciscans of Rive, who had become Protestant before Calvin's arrival in Geneva. He was a special friend of Farel, who blessed his marriage in August, 1535. Doumergue: *Jean Calvin*, ii, 129.

He had done something to offend Calvin and now wished to be reconciled. Farel here intercedes for him quite passionately. Calvin replied on June 15 (*Opera*, xiv, 133): "Quod ad nostrum amicum νεοπαλαιόν spectat, ego vero eum, ut mones et hortaris, sedulo fovebo, et collegis meis ero autor ut idem faciant. Sed crede mihi, nihil sincerum apparet." See the whole passage. The editor, not knowing to whom Calvin refers, cautiously suggests Perrinus, but must be corrected by this new letter.

quem proprio etiam sanguine et vita tua optasses pridem Christo redditum; quid nunc potes aliud quam salvum amplexari, & siquid morbi supersit, unde non plena favorum moenia¹⁷ non ut optas¹⁸ videris, non prorsus aversari et desinere eum qui melioratus cupit haberi, & qui spem fecit sanitatis plenae aliquando parandae? Faciunt¹⁹ & Neo[comi] collegae omnes, quibus tam est cordi omnium salus, ne alienent istum tam utilem; sed ego mihi et meo affectui nimis indulgeo et nihil mirum, nam tantum non extra me sum, & somnare mihi videor, et reduces ex captivitate tam deplorata sibi videbantur. Et quamvis collegis meis nihil opus subire meis hortatibus & multominus tibi, tamen plene novi vos lucem honorantes enim qualemcunque, ita in D[ei] amore, licet praeter meritum, etsi non posset addi aliquid vestro quam sanctissimo amoris et charitati in privatis, cum sit quam maximus, nihil tamen abfuturum etsi non tantus esset quantus est, aliquid me obtestante abfuturum, ut gaudium meum perficiatur.

Monachus Vigiarensis²⁰ multa sibi promittit & in nonnullis utrumque Franciscum²¹ habet; non reformantes enim humani sententiam de divinis, sensum proprium non verbum D[ei] ponderant. Ex Vireto²² alia audio quam ex Christophoro, apud Viretum dixit Christophorus se audito aliter sensisse quam prius. Christophorus refert impugnasse eius sententiam et conventum ubi absolverit quae scribit, haec mittere ut audiat quid dicturi simus; sed alio mittat si valet bellumque indicat Deo. Si tu et quae quam apertissime ex scripturis plenoque Dei verbo, illi bullae²³ mox mox [sic] crepiturae non satisfacis, scilicet ego satisfaciam? Plenius omnia ex Vireto. Martem ridendum sequitur ridiculus Mercurius; ita illa in

¹⁷ Sic for munia, a spelling found elsewhere.

¹⁸ Sic; one might expect optare.

¹⁹ I.e., they are all treating Bernard well, as Farel wishes Calvin to do, in order not to alienate him again.

²⁰ I.e., of Veigy, a town near Geneva. Bolsec is spoken of as "the monk" by Farel on June 29 (Calvini Opera, xiv, 143), and is meant here. Jerome Hermes Bolsec (†1585), a Carmelite monk of Paris, whence he went to Ferrara and there became almoner of the Duchess Renée. In 1551 he went to Veigy and then to Geneva, where he quarreled with Calvin, though he had previously embraced the Reformed religion, was first imprisoned and then banished. See W. Walker: John Calvin, 1906, pp. 315 ff; H. Fazy: Procès de Bolsec in Mémoires de l'Inst. nat. genevois, x, 1866.

²¹ In his letter of June 29 (see last note), Farel writes: "Non sperassem tantam mutationem in utroque Francisco: sed sanandos credo. De monacho parum spei est." The editor informs us that one of these Francisci was Sampaulinus, the other he does not know.

²² Peter Viret (1511-71), pastor at Lausanne.

²³ "That bladder," a term of contempt often used by Luther; children's rattles were made of them. Luther's Correspondence, ii, 107.

intentione infimum abys[um], ita vir in aeterna praeordinatione quam vult impetere et enectare, in cinerem vectitur.

Tibi et Colladinis²⁴ et reliquis quid debemus pro labore impenso pauperibus?

Quam vereor ne poetis Margaritae²⁵ malorum omnium radix avaritia fidem & pietatem extinguit omnem! Judas, venundato Christo, sumpta biretta,²⁶ pro Christo Satanam habet durum. Suos novit D[eus]; per eos efficit quod statuit. Non erit vanus labor servorum D[ei]; etiamque flentes seminant messent cum gaudio. Vale.

Accepi pij Bucer²⁷ postremas tandem litteras. Quale pectus! Quis sese demittit tantus! In luctu gaudiendum quod homo tam nobis amicus ad D[eum] migravit. Nec dubito quin migrans nos D[eo] commendavit. Quantum in te recte sensiit & te merito amavit! Magno par est magnificari. Tantum in me ob nimium amorem hallucinatus est, tanti faciens quae ad se scribentur quae potius impensa erant, quod vellem te aliquando idem facere. Cum tam saepe in te peccem scribendo aliter quam decet, cum aliud non noxius²⁸ quam ita misere peccare et semel me admonuisti de ijs quae ad tantum virum scribebam. Forte utrinque rudem habeas amicum; posses ad meliora trahere hunc tam senem. Qui sunt duri, apti ad meliora. Hanc quaeso operam ne graveris mihi impendere, licet tibi imo debes quam liberrime. Quamvis in omnibus cedam Bucero²⁹ tamen amore et affectu in te et tui observatione nihil cedo. Quamdiu hunc furore castiga mone et urge amicum, et quanto liberius & — ut mortuus sum — amarius feceris, tanto mihi gratior & magis officium faciens eris. Colimus qui supersimus sanctam memoriam donec ad ripam quam amicissimam & ad charissimum amicorum coetum qui progresserunt migremus, divinae voluntati grati gratias agentes, quod quamdiu visum fuit in hac miseriarum

²⁴ Leon and Germain Colladon, who came to Geneva in August, 1550 (La France Protestante). Farel's spelling is wrong but found elsewhere.

²⁵ It is possible that this is a reference to Ronsard, whose Odes appeared 1550, and to his protector Margaret of Savoy. But it is more probable that Farel was thinking of Margaret of Navarre, who died 1549, and had been a protector of the "Libertins"; see Walker's Calvin. Rabelais was one of those who claimed her protection, and who had just been branded by Calvin in his *De Scandalis*, 1550. See L. Thuasne: *Études sur Rabelais*, 1904, pp. 402 ff.; *Calvini Opera*, viii, 45; Doumergue: *Jean Calvin*, i, 376.

²⁶ This seems to be Farel's spelling, like the Italian and modern English; the usual Latin form was *birretum*.

²⁷ Bucer died at Cambridge, February 27, 1551. Farel had already spoken of his death, April 27, *Calvini Opera*, xiv, 112. Calvin's reply to Farel of June 15 has in mind what Farel here says, *ibid.* xiv, 133, and note.

²⁸ Used as a comparative, perhaps permissible.

²⁹ So underlined by Farel.

valle tantos nobis utendos dedit annos. Neque lingua neque solum aut quidvis aliud hanc potuit amicitiam impedire quae in finem usque integra duravit; si sata in lachrymis hic et culta, tantum habe solidi gaudij quid, ubi in messe pleni referentur manipuli! O quam bonus est D[eus] noster qui tam malos non aversatos sed bonitate filij vestitos beat omnes quam maximo bono quod in Christo habemus. Ea addit tam cumulate quae non modo pijs expetenda sunt valde, in D[eo] unum esse, sed ipsis etiam in tenebris agentibus. Tamen et hoc bonum inter optima reputatum est. Et ut sensu Dei non potest homo rogitationem excludere quin illi quantumvis ignoto primus deferat, ita amicos secundo habeat loco. O si miseri verum Deum noscerent & quid velit et jubeat, & eo tenderent, & si veros amicos & quid amici velint, quot et quantis essent liberati malis! Utrumque per ineffabilem Dei clementiam novimus & Deum & quid velit & quid jubeat, & quid amici, nempe ut illustretur Christi gloria. Quid enim tanto opere amplexaris in tuo et nostro Normandio,³⁰ ut de alijs taceam, nisi putatur cuius nosti esse quam studiosiss [imus]. Ego quid in te aliud volo? Pergendum nobis est in laudibus Dei nostri, O quam immeritos peccatores amat et ornat merito Christi, quem praedicat colit adorat omnis terra; nihil supersit quod non laudem eius depraedicat.

Vale felix et totus in Do[mino] & vive in via Christi ut gygas, vince calamitatem calamitosi mundi, sicco pede pertransi hoc mare laeteque amarum & quae te in horas decumbere cogunt aegritudines, sanissimas summa alacritate vince. Servat te Christus infractum ad omnia, ut forma³¹ gregis sis ad omnia summa stimulata³² pro Christo ferenda et peragenda. Saluta quaeso omnes. Proximis literis convectis spero aliud successum quam priorem, quod faxit Christus. Collega³³ te salutat.

Neocomi, 25 Maij 1551.

Tuus totus FARELLUS.

Translation

Greeting. The wound which we received by the absence of Christopher Fabri will not easily be healed, for his untimely departure and delay longer than his business requires, make it severe.

³⁰ One of Calvin's colleagues at Geneva, Laurent de Normandie, born at Noyon c. 1510, came to Geneva 1548, died 1569. Cf. Doumergue: Jean Calvin, iii, 1905, pp. 620 ff.

³¹ I.e., "a model," a classical use, rather startling with *gregis*, possibly due to a confused reminiscence of the Virgilian "formosi pastor gregis."

³² Cf. Acts 26 14.

³³ Who this colleague was I cannot determine.

And yet it greatly relieves the pain, although sharp, to remember what recently happened, so that I may justly thank God and congratulate not only you primarily and the church on account of the fruit which I hope from him, but also I congratulate Christopher who, admonished of this very thing by me, had related to me his faithful work, when he had taken his departure after the conversation which we had at the synod.

Let me not cheat James Bernard of the work which God wished to accomplish through him, inasmuch as formerly he was not unprofitable in the founding of the church which God gave into his care. Let him know that I am not forgetful of what he has done, nor ungrateful, and, as you know that I am accustomed to repay such favors, please thank him in my name and let him take heed always to continue in the performance of such truly Christian duties, and let him prove himself, as I hope he will do, profitable unto himself and to the church, bringing forth no common fruit. How great will be my joy, my triumph, when I see him saved with us (while I weep for others), yea, not only saved but useful to the church of Christ. Although much refuse was mixed with the wheat in his first deeds and in his progress since then, yet because these deeds were of God they could not be otherwise than good and not a little profitable unto the church, God working in his creature. This creature of God coming from God, was dear to me on account of his fervent gifts; but Christ has made him much dearer, indeed as dear as possible, since he has purged him and given him all perfect gifts so that he may serve the gospel, continuing and persevering even unto the end. How could you, who are, were, and will be a father, be held other than most dear by him whom you wished formerly to give back to Christ even at the cost of your own life? What else can you do save embrace him now that he is saved? If any of his old weakness is left by reason of which you are unable to give him your full favor, though you do not seem to wish this, yet turn not altogether from him and do not leave him who wishes to be considered as improved, and who offers ground for hope that he will soon be again completely whole. All my colleagues at Neuchâtel, who care so much for the salvation of all, act thus, lest they should alienate this so useful man. If I yield too much to my affection for him, it is no wonder, for I am almost beside myself, and I seem to myself to dream and they seem to themselves like exiles returning from a miserable captivity. And although there is no need for my colleagues to obey my exhortations, and still less need for you to do so, nevertheless I have always known you to honor every light and to live in the love of God. And

although in personal matters nothing could be added to your holy love and devotion, inasmuch as they are as great as possible, yet let it not be lacking in this, even if he (Bernard) was not what he is, but accept my testimony for him, that my joy may be perfected.

The monk of Veigy (Bolsec) promises himself great things and in some matters he has seduced both the Francisces, for they do not distinguish the human dregs from the divine matter, and they consider rather their own reason than the Word of God. The account given me by Viret differed from that given by Christopher, and when Viret was present Christopher said that he had changed his opinion. Christopher says that he opposed his (Bolsec's) opinion, and that when he (Bolsec) had completed what he has written he would do, he will send the agreement here in order to learn what we shall say. But let him send it elsewhere if he is able, and declare war on God. If you and the clear texts of Scripture adduced by you could not satisfy that bladder that will soon make a noise, how, pray, could I satisfy him? You will learn more from Viret. A ridiculous Mercury follows an absurd Mars. He is going his own way to the lowest abyss; the man is on the way to be burnt to ashes by the very eternal predestination which he wishes to attack and annihilate.

What do we not owe to you and to the Colladons and the rest for the labor you have lavished on the poor?

How I fear that avarice, that root of all evils, has extinguished all faith and piety in the poets of Margaret! Judas, having sold Christ and taken the biretta, instead of Christ has that hard master Satan. God knows his own, and through them does what he has ordained. The labor of the servants of God will not be in vain; though they sow weeping they will reap with joy. Farewell.

I have received pious Bucer's last letter. What a heart! What a man has gone! We must rejoice in our sorrow that a man so fond of us has journeyed to God. I have no doubt that after his journey he commended us to God. How rightly he thought of you and how justly he loved you! It is right to be celebrated by a great man. He was foolish to love me as he did, for he made much of all that was written to him though he should rather have sifted it, as I hope that you also will sometime do; although I often sin by writing to you otherwise than as is fitting, although nothing is more harmful than to sin thus miserably and you have once warned me about the things which I wrote to such a man. Perchance you had a candid friend on either side; you may be able to lead the one who is now so old [sc. myself] to better things. Those who are hard are apt to

be improved. I beg you not to begrudge me the needful attention, although you owe it rather to yourself. Though I yield to Bucer in all things, yet in love and affection for you and reverence for you I yield not at all. Wherefore chastize, admonish, press this friend furiously, and the more freely and — as I am dead — the more harshly you do it, the more you will please me and the more you will do your duty. Let us, the survivors, cherish his holy memory until we also journey to the beloved shore and to the dear company of friends who have gone before, gratefully giving thanks to the divine will which has given us so many years to be used in this valley of miseries. No tongue nor the earth itself nor anything else has been able to hinder the friendship which has lasted untouched unto the end; if it was sowed and cultivated in tears, yet it has solid joy awaiting it when the full sheaves will be brought in at the harvest. Oh, how good is our God who does not cast us off, evil though we are, but makes us blessed clothed in the goodness of his Son and with the great gift we have in Christ! To his other blessings He richly adds this, which is greatly sought by the pious, that we shall be one in God, and He gives this gift even to those who are living in darkness. Yet this blessing is reckoned among the best. And although a man is not able, in the thought of God, to exclude petitions for himself first, yet let him have his friends in the second place. Oh, if only the wretched knew the true God, what He wishes and commands, and followed that, and if they only knew their true friends and what their friends wish, from how many and what terrible evils would they be freed! By God's ineffable mercy we know both God and his commands and our friends and what they want, namely that Christ's glory may be brightened. Wherefore let me embrace you in your and our Laurent de Normandie, not to mention others, lest I should seem to be too fond of one of whom you know.³⁴ What should I wish different in you? We must continue in the praises of our God. Oh, how He loves undeserving sinners and how He ornaments them with the merit of Christ, whom the whole earth preaches, cherishes, and adores! In fact there is nothing that does not proclaim his praise.

Farewell, be happy and live in the way of Christ like a giant; conquer the calamity of the calamitous world; dryshod pass through this happily bitter sea, and with the highest vigor overcome the maladies that at times lay you low. May Christ keep you unbroken for all things, that you may be a model to the flock in all the high trials to be borne and gone through for Christ. Give my greetings,

³⁴ I.e., Calvin himself.

please, to all. I trust that your next letter will be brought to me more safely and quickly than the last. Christ grant it. My colleague salutes you. Neuchâtel, May 25, 1551.

All yours,

FAREL.

6. INSCRIPTION BY JOHN FORSTER. 1552

John Forster, 1495–1556, Protestant born at Augsburg, a noted Hebrew scholar. A specimen of sixteenth century piety and erudition is offered herewith.

GENESIS XLIX,

[Follows a Hebrew inscription, the text of Genesis 49 18.]

Salutare tuum expecto Domine. Paraphrastes chaldaicus:³⁵ Dixit pater noster Jacob, Non expecto redemptionem Giddeonis, quae est temporaria, neque redemptionem Simpsonis filij Mannae, nam et haec est transitoria. Sed expecto redemptionem Christi filii David, qui venturus est ad accersendum ad se filios Israel. Huius, inquam, redemptionem desiderat anima mea.

Haec est pia et plena consolatione Partriarchae dicti huius declaratio, pertinens ad omnem posteritatem fidelis Israelis, quod ea in rebus adversis non ad praesidia humana confugere debeat, quae aut sunt transitoria aut omnino vana. Sed ad filium Dei ex Dauide secundum carnem natum cuius aut redemptio certa est, ita quoque est vera et aeterna.

JOHANNES FORSTERUS, D.

1552.

Translation

I await thy salvation, O Lord. The author of the Chaldee paraphrase writes: Our father Jacob said, I do not await the redemption of Gideon which is temporary, nor the redemption of Samson the son of Manoah, for this also is transitory, but I await the redemption

³⁵ See the Chaldee Paraphrases in the Targum, printed in Walter's Polyglott. As my father, the Rev. Prof. Henry Preserved Smith, kindly informs me, the Targum of Jonathan at this point reads: "Dixit Jacob quando vidit Gedeonem filium Joas et Simsonem filium Manoe, qui futuri erant liberatores: Non liberationem Simsonis ego perspicio, quia liberatio temporalis fuit; sed ego salutem tuam expecto et perspicio, Domine, quia Liberatio tua liberatio saeculorum." The Jerusalem Targum reads: "Dixit pater noster Jacob: Non redemptionem Gedeonis filii Joas expectat anima mea, quae est temporalis; neque redemptionem Samsonis quae est salus creata; sed redemptionem quam dixisti verbo tuo venturam esse populo tuo filiis Israel, hanc redemptionem expectat anima mea." It will be seen that Forster had a different text before him. How far it was colored by himself, and how far it represents a genuine new reading, must be left to critics to determine.

of Christ the son of David who is to come to call unto himself all the children of Israel. His redemption, I say, my soul desireth.

This declaration of the said patriarch is pious and full of consolation pertaining to the whole posterity of faithful Israel, for in times of adversity they ought not to flee to human protection which is either transitory or altogether vain. But they should flee to the Son of God from the seed of David according to the flesh, for his redemption is certain and also is true and eternal.

Dr. JOHN FORSTER. 1552.

7. MELANCHTHON TO JOHN PETREIUS

(WITTENBERG), January 31, 1555.

This letter is not found in the *Corpus Reformatorum* nor in Bindseil's *Epistolae Melanchthonis quae in Corpore Reformatorum desiderantur*, 1874, nor is it known to Fleming and Vogt, "Nachweis von Melanchthon-Briefen," *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1910 and 1912. It is printed in the catalogue of the Dreer Collection. There were two men named John Petreius. One of them, to whom Melanchthon wrote Dec. 16, 1549, *Corpus Ref.*, vii, 514, and letter in Bindseil, *op. cit.*, was a Nuremberg printer who died in 1550, see *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*. The other was in 1553 pastor in Willansdorf (see Melanchthon's letter to him, *Corpus Ref.*, viii, 29) and later pastor at Zwickau. Cf. *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, xvii, 192 line 55, where he is described as a "hotspur." The present letter is addressed to him.

[Address] Reverendo viro eruditione et virtute praestanti D. Johanni Petreio, Pastori Ecclesiae Dei in inclyta urbe Cygnea,³⁶ Amico suo carissimo.

S. D. Reverende D. Pastor, Exploravimus eruditionem hujus Wolfgangi³⁷ et comperimus eum recte tenere summam doctrinam Evangelii. Quare et te judicamus recte fecisse quod Ecclesiam ei commendasti et optamus ornatas esse talibus ingeniis multas Ecclesias. De consistorio, recte facies si ad proximum referas controversias. Sed tamen poteris cum vobis in nostrum consistorium et nostram Academiam consulere. Dei beneficio, una et concors harum regionum Ecclesia est. Nec sunt ambitiosa certamina de jurisdictione. Bene et feliciter vale. Pridie Cal. Feb. 1555.

PHILIPPUS.

³⁶ Zwickau.

³⁷ I cannot identify this Wolfgang. Probably the Album Academiae Vitebergensis, ed. C. E. Förstemann, 1841, would do this, but there is not a copy of the work to be found in America.

Translation

To the Reverend and in virtue and learning excellent Dr. John Petreius, Pastor of the Church of God in the noble city of Zwickau, his dearest friend.

Greeting. Reverend pastor, we have examined the learning of this Wolfgang and have found him rightly to hold the chief points of evangelic doctrine. Wherefore we think you have done right in recommending a church to him, and we wish that many churches may be adorned with pastors of such character. You will do right if you refer your controversies to the next Consistory. But you and your friends may consult our Consistory and our university. By God's blessing the church of these regions is at one and in peace, nor is there any strife of ambition about jurisdiction. Farewell. January 31, 1555.

PHILIP.

It may not be unacceptable to the reader if in this place I should add a few other notes on Melanchthon, hitherto unpublished. In the library of Mr. George Arthur Plimpton of New York there are several books with notes in Melanchthon's hand. The most important of these is the copy of Homer published by Aldus in 1517. It contains the *Iliad*, *Odyssey*, and the lives of Homer by Herodotus and Plutarch. There are three separate title-pages and on each of them there is an inscription stating that the book was given by Melanchthon to Luther in 1519.³⁸ That on the *Iliad* is τῷ ἐν χριστῷ παμφιλτάτῳ Μαρτίνῳ τῷ Θεολόγῳ Φίλιππος MDXIX. The inscription on the title-page of the *Odyssey* is "D. D. Re. Patri Doc. Martino Luthero Θεολόγῳ Ph. Mel." The writing on the title-page of the lives of Homer is "D. D. Rev. Pat. Martino Luthero Θεολόγῳ Philip. Melanchthon." The book is crammed with notes attributed to Melanchthon, of which a few are worth quoting. On the title-page of the *Iliad* he wrote,

³⁸ In the second volume of Luther's Correspondence, p. 177, n. 2, I mistakenly stated that the book was given by Luther to Melanchthon, instead of the other way. I was perhaps misled by Luther's assertion, "I bought a Homer to become a Greek." Did he buy it from Melanchthon, or did he have two copies?

"Est in Homeri poematis insignis suavitas cum magna gravitate." He sought for parallels to his own age as the following notes show. To Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή, he added "Locus de providentia." He notes "comminatio tyrannica" at the point where Agamemnon threatens Achilles, and when Calchas enters, only to make the quarrel worse, Melanchthon comments, "Commotio inter principes propter religionem."

Mr. Plimpton also possesses another *Iliad* printed by Aldus, without date, with some notes attributed to Melanchthon. The book was evidently used by some one as the basis of lectures, for here and there come in practical directions, of which the most frequent is "Jocum narrabis." Teacher's perennial joke was not invented in our days. Mr. Plimpton's library contains further Melanchthon's own *Institutiones Graecae Grammaticae*, Hagenau, 1518, with notes by the author intended to prepare for a subsequent edition. Finally there is in the same storehouse of rare books a copy of *Procli paraphrasis in Quatuor Ptolomaei libros de siderum effectibus cum praefatione Philippi Melanchthonis*, 1554, with Melanchthon's name in autograph on the title-page, and, in another hand, "Doctissimo viro d. Georgio Scellar," probably indicating that Melanchthon gave it to him.

8. CALVIN TO GEORGE, COUNT OF WÜRTTEMBERG & MONTBÉLIARD

GENEVA, July 13, 1558

This letter is published in Calvin's *Opera*, ed. Baum, Cunitz & Reuss, vol. xvii, 1877, coll. 253 ff. from a copy made by Beza. The copy varies in important particulars from the original, which I herewith collate:

Col. 253, line 4, *for spero read ut spero.*

L. 8, *for Sed excedere modestiae fines non read Sed modestiae fines excedere mihi non.*

Ll. 9-11, *the words ne vestra Celsitudo excutiendae tantae causae duas horas impendere gravetur are underlined by Calvin.*

Col. 254, ll. 17 f. *for P. read Petrus. The words Petrus Tussanus fallaces praetextus are underlined by Calvin.*

L. 19, *for sua et maligna read et maligna sua.*

L. 25, *for ingratitude non libenter read non libenter ingratitude.*

Ll. 28 f., *the words parum humaniter se gessit quod simultatibus are underlined by Calvin.*

L. 30, *the words me verbo uno admonuit ut me are underlined by Calvin.*

L. 31, *for meo consilio read consilio meo.*

Ll. 34 f., *the words experiri quid mea exhortatio apud eos valeret are underlined by Calvin.*

Ll. 38 f., *the words haereticis parci volens sicuti are underlined by Calvin.*

L. 46, *after factionis Calvin first wrote the words vel suae libidini addictos and then struck them out. This is worth noting as showing that the quick-tempered Reformer was capable of toning down an expression that escaped him in the heat of passion.* l. 54, *after existimationi add et otio fideliter.*

Col. 255, l. 11, *omit the words Celsitudinis vestrae obsequentissimus, evidently added by Beza as more respectful.*

L. 12, *after Calvinus add tuus.*

9. THEODORE BEZA TO PITHOU

APRIL 22, 1566

This is printed in Baird's Theodore Beza, 1899, p. 368 f., with facsimile. The printing is correct except p. 368, line 5 from the bottom "nous epargnera" should be "nous y epargnera."

Some years ago at Goodspeed's Book Shop in Boston I saw an autograph letter of Beza. I remember nothing particular about it, and inquiry at the shop elicits the information that they have sold it, they know not to whom.